

17-1945

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THE BILBO EXODUS PLAN

A while since, Senator Bilbo expressed the idea of providing for the migration of American Negroes to Africa. He doubtless noted an organized movement among them for such purpose, and reacted to it. Had he been from any but a Southern State, his views and purposes would not have been so misunderstood, misinterpreted and condemned as they have been. To clear up such misconception—rather than to turn aside the abuse he received—he has stated his intent to re-introduce his bill when the war is over.

His interest was expressed in a letter to Reverend Lewis Scott, colored pastor of a Savannah, Georgia Baptist Church, which he read in the Senate May 10. His reply to Pastor Scott, who appealed to him to reintroduce and pass his bill to voluntarily resettle the Negro in Africa, is in part as follows:

"My plan does not call for deporting the American Negro to his fatherland in Africa. The Negro is as much a citizen of this country as I am. Therefore, the Congress can not compel any Negro to go to Africa unless he goes voluntarily.

"My proposition is to provide the ways and means for his transportation to Liberia or West Africa, and then 'grub stake' him for a year, until he becomes adjusted in his new home—the richest country in the world. Roads, schools, hospitals and sanitation would also be provided."

Warning that a crisis in racial relation is impending, which will bring about strife and possibly riots and bloodshed, and denouncing the pending F. E. P. C. bill as an un-American and unconstitutional measure which will foment discord between the races, he reiterated his conviction that physical separation of the white and colored races is the only solution to the problem.

"History has proven that race separation is the only solution to our impending race frictions, and is the only means by which the integrity of both the white and black races can be made safe. Settlement of American Negroes in West

Africa will give the Negro a real change in life, and put an end to miscegenation and other evils which are inevitable wherever the two races live side by side."

The position of the Senator is more thoughtful, wise, benevolent and humane than his critics have perceived. The migration must be voluntary, because citizens, as Negroes, cannot be deported. If the bill fails to pass—yet it is a contribution to this question.

Ben Davis Hits "Gross Fabrications"

[There follows the text of Councilman Benjamin Davis's statement in answer to the false claim that he advocates a "separate state" for Negroes.]

"It is well-known that I believe in and fight for the immediate full unconditional political, economic and social equality of the Negro people all over America, including the south.

"The gross fabrications in the press with reference to my seeking a 'separate Negro state' in the South were begun by the World-Telegram which is notorious for its policy of malicious misrepresentation of Negroes, Communists and other minority groups. With respect to this question, it is my view that the Negro people in the South must have the fullest guarantee of the expression of their democratic rights.

"The purpose of the World-Telegram and its reactionary associates and backers is quite the contrary. It is to prevent the establishment of any guarantees whatsoever for the full citizenship rights of the Negro, to destroy the wartime gains achieved by the Negro people. My candidacy symbolizes the fight not only for the protection of these gains but for their broadest and most rapid extension, as well as for constantly improving the general welfare of the people of New York."

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The Changing South!

White Mississippian tells off Bilbo on race question

WASHINGTON—Drew Pearson, in his nationally syndicated column this week, printed a story relating how a lieutenant from Mississippi told off Senator Theodore (The Man) Bilbo on the race question before members of the Mississippi congressional delegation.

A hero, with medals for distinguished service in Africa, Sicily and Italy, the lieutenant, Van T. Barfoot of Carthage, Miss., was telling his congressmen of his experience in combat and answering questions, Pearson reported.

"Lieutenant", Bilbo asked, Pearson reported, "did you have much trouble with Negroes over there?"

"Bilbo was set back on his heels", Pearson said, "when the lieutenant drawled:

"Mr. Senator, I found out after I did some fightin' in this war the colored boys fought just as good as the white boys. I have changed my ideas a lot about colored people since I got into this war, and so have a lot of other boys from the south. We've found the colored boys all right."

"Then," continued Pearson Lieut. Barfoot volunteered this information:

"Coming up to Washington on the train I went into the diner and found it full. The waiter told me I'd have to wait, but I could see, behind a little curtain, a colored army captain sitting at a table by himself. I said, 'What's wrong with that table?' The steward told me he didn't think I'd want to sit with a colored man and I said: 1-22-45"

"Why not? I've fought with colored men—why shouldn't I eat with 'em?" I sat with that colored captain and we had a fine chat.

Apparently making an about face, "Senator Bilbo, Pearson said, "then launched into a long peroration about what a great friend of the Negro he is, telling among other things, how he proposed transplanting American Negroes to Liberia."

Georgians Write Bilbo "Africa, Not Fatherland"

SAVANNAH, Ga.—In an exchange of correspondence with Senator Theodore Bilbo in which he praised Rev. L. L. Scott as a "Statesman above the common run of his race," and denounced the NAACP for fostering this Negro 'equality stuff,' Dr. Ralph Mark Gilbert, president of the Savannah Georgia branch NAACP declared "Those of us who are constantly living in the same city with Rev. Scott and have known him over a longer period of time are in a better position to judge the value of his leadership than you possibly could be since your only contacts with him have been through the mails, which proved useful to you in fighting the continuance of FEPC 7-14-45"

"Today Negroes do not accept a man as a leader among them simply because he has the OK of one of someone outside our racial group. We have learned that if we are dealing with a Negro who is the representative of white interests who are our avowed enemies, that we are not in reality dealing with another Negro but are still dealing with those white interests and our avowed enemies."

Commenting on Bilbo's resettlement plan to send the Negro back to Africa to his fatherland "where he will no longer be subjected to the disappointments and discriminations that have been his lot for the past 300 years and will be for next 500 years," Dr. Gilbert said: "Africa is no more the fatherland of the present generation of Negroes than of Anglo-Saxons. Unless your plan is to make a resettlement so as to include people of various racial stocks instead of singling the Negro out, I am afraid our people will not get the point. We have no objection to any Negroes who wish to go to Liberia or Egypt or France or Brazil, or any other country to settle, in going ahead and doing it. But, we do not feel that the

U. S. Government should single us out to give us help in returning to a land from whence we have come and concerning which we know nothing by personal contact."

Refuting Bilbo's charge in reference to the NAACP and other

national movement that "there is a group of so-called professional and educated Negroes in this country who are being misled by their own leaders and by a few white quizzings and politicians playing them for suckers merely to get a vote," Dr. Gilbert said: "The NAACP is a national movement, not a northern organization as you claim. Both Mr. White and the majority of his associates are southerners have never lost contact or sympathy with this section. Mr. White is a Southern boy both, reading and training. The fact is, it is far more difficult to elicit active interest on the part of strictly northern Negroes in the NAACP movement than it is to secure that of southern Negroes (whether they now live north or south)-because the strictly northern Negro has not felt he does not feel the same spur to rectify those conditions.

"We do regret, also, that you regard the many white people of this country who wish to adopt a Christ-like attitude on racial issues and who are struggling to make the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States something more than beautiful language, as quislings. Quisling was a man who in the hour of national disaster sold out to his enemies; to Germans who were aliens of his own country. The case is by no means similar in this instance. Negroes have never set themselves up as enemies of the white man. There is no opportunity for white people to become quislings to Negroes. They would have nothing to gain by doing so." 7-24-45

In answer to Bilbo's declaration against coddling the Negro race, or trying to "fill his head full of dreams with equality with the white man and intermarriage with the white race--all of which seems to please a great many Negroes and seems to be their greatest desire," Gilbert said: "Negroes are a long ways from expecting anyone in the white race

to coddle them. Giving them a fair chance to sell their labor and their skills on an open market is not coddling, but simple justice. Just what this has to do with intermarriage I cannot say; I mentioned it only because you injected it. However that is not an issue in the FEPC. So far as miscegenation is concerned, that has taken place in Africa. I deplore very much the manner in which it has taken place in this country but I certainly has not come about due to Negroes' discrimination."

Black Belt Proposal Attacked by Schuyler

NEW YORK—The Communist proposal, as revealed by Councilman B. J. Davis Jr., calling for the establishment of a black belt in the South is "pure fantasy or worse, pure mendacity," says George S. Schuyler in "The Call," Socialist weekly. Mrs. Schuyler calls for joint efforts by colored and white people to create any economic and social system which would yield its benefits of abundance to all, regardless of race.

Plan for Colored Republic in South Revived by Davis

NEW YORK—Proposed by the Communists in the 1930's, a plan to carve up the South and form in one section of it a colored Soviet Republic was revived by Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Communist councilman, last week.

Writing in The Daily Worker, Communist organ, Davis explained that the dream had faded under "revisionist errors" which had occurred when the Communists became the Communist Political Association instead of a political party.

In the early plan it was suggested that a "Black Belt" be established from Virginia to Texas, paralleling generally the coast line, that "artificial State lines be abolished and that the colored republic be set up.

Secession Advocated

According to an official statement then, those in the territory would be given "the complete right of self-determination, the right to set up their own government . . . and the right to separate, if they wish, from the United States."

In the process of revising the Communist steep, declared Davis further, explaining the abandonment of the idea, "the cardinal principle of self-determination for the Black Belt was liquidated." "The liquidation of the right of self-determination," he added, reflected a serious revision of the national aspects of the colored question."

"Separate Negro Republic"—A Phoney And Deceitful Issue in Harlem Politics

New York

By DOXEY A. WILKERSON

OF ALL THE PHONEY ISSUES being raised in the current political campaign in Harlem, none is more distorted and deceitful than the false claim that Councilman Benjamin J. Davis wants to set up a "separate Negro republic" within the United States. Everybody knows what Ben Davis stands for—full and complete democratic rights for Negroes in every realm of American life—economic, political and social. That is what he fought for as a young lawyer over ten years ago, when he was defend-

ing Angelo Herndon from the lynch-mobs of Georgia. That is what he has been fighting for in City Council—when he got a law passed forbidding racial segregation in public housing, when he got the Council to speak out for FEPC, when he introduced a bill to outlaw jimero in big league baseball, when he took the leadership in a hundred other fights for full and equal Negro democratic rights.

That is why Harlem and the labor movement elected Ben Davis to the City Council in the first place, and that is why we are going to elect him again this fall.

How the "Negro State" Lie Got Started

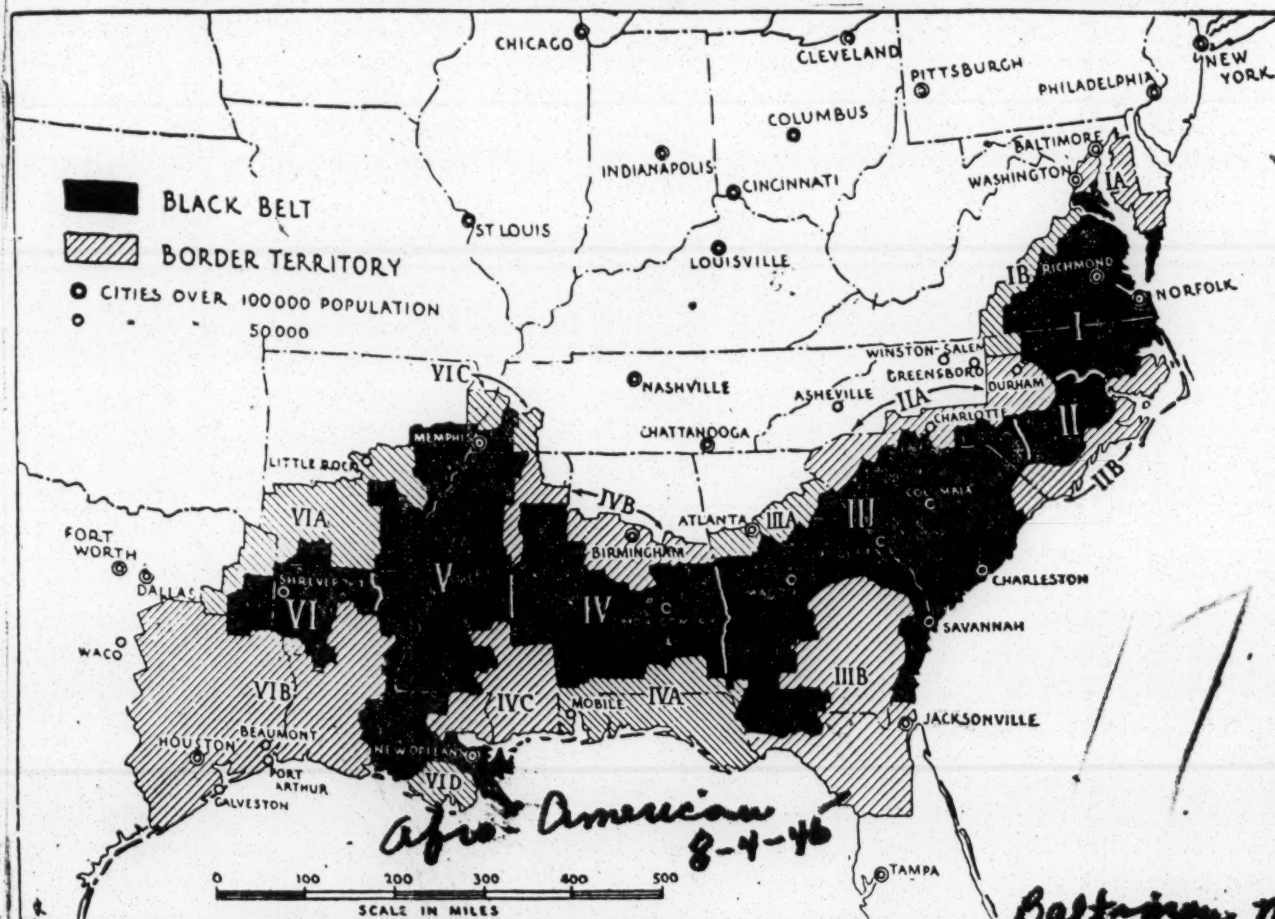
Certain eager office-seekers and their newspaper backers are busy all over Harlem spreading the lie that Ben Davis wants to set up a "separate state" (or republic) for Negroes. Then they ask: "Do you believe in that?" The answer, of course, is always "NO!"

Here is how all this got started:

The big business forces of our city were carrying on a terrific pressure campaign in their daily newspapers last week to force the N.Y. Democratic Party to withdraw the name of Ben Davis as Democratic candidate for City Council. (What they really want is to split the Harlem vote and keep any Negro from getting into the Council.)

Just about that time, Davis wrote an article in *The Worker*, criticizing his fellow-Communists for not fighting even harder for Negro rights, and calling for re-emphasis of the Marxist principle

Section Proposed for Colored Soviet Republic



This map from a pamphlet by James S. Allen shows the area proposed in the 1930's by American Communists for a colored republic, a scheme now being revived by Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., of New York. Those area blacked out on the map would form a Soviet republic in which the right of self-determination would be dominant, advocates of the scheme say.

self-determination in the "Black Belt" (that is, for the right of Negroes where they constitute a majority of the population to determine their own political life as they see fit, which is the very essence of political democracy).

The daily papers (led by the reactionary *World-Telegram* and *Daily News*) began to write lurid and distorted stories about this Ben Davis article, claiming that he proposed to set up a separate "Communist Negro Nation" in the South—and even publishing maps

to show where it would be. Immediately, certain Harlem politicians, hoping to oust Ben Davis and his Democratic supporters and win political jobs for themselves, began to spread the lie about and to solicit statements of "opposition" to any such segregated "Black Republic." (It is a bit amusing, and pathetic, to note how many "leaders" were sucked into this political trap. They were simply taken for a ride by clever propagandists whose sole interest

is to get on the public payroll.)

Two Basic Facts About Ben Davis

We can expect many more of these lying distortions as the councilmanic campaign grows in intensity. Enemies of the Negro people know that Ben Davis in the City Council means that our City Government is going to have to pay more attention to the rights of Negro citizens. They want to keep Ben Davis and all other real Negro leaders out of the Council, and they know there is only one

way to do it—through lying tricks to split the Harlem voters, whom they know are firmly united in support of Ben Davis.

But these tricks will not succeed, for Harlem voters and the progressive labor movement of New York City will remember these two basic facts about Councilman Davis.

First, he is an able and courageous fighter for full democratic rights for Negroes and all other working people. He stands for a society in which all men are on a plane of social, economic, and political equality. His record on this score is perfectly clear—and it cannot be covered up by lies about "Black Republics" or anything else.

Second, he is a Communist—and proud of it. It was precisely because he was so thoroughly devoted to the struggle for Negro rights that Ben Davis joined the Communist Party and became one of its national leaders; and it is precisely because he is a Communist leader that Ben Davis could never be anything but a staunch fighter for Negro rights.

Yes, there will be many more political tricks designed to oust Harlem's fighting spokesman from City Council. They will come from the worst enemies of the Negro people, and they will be supported by some Negro would-be leaders who are ready to sell the Negro down the river if only they can get in on the political gravy.

But Harlem will stand firm for Ben Davis as the symbol and guardian of Negro rights in City Council. Tens of thousands of progressive white trade unionists will stand by our side. We will beat back all reactionary efforts to disrupt our political unity. We will keep Ben Davis in the City Council.

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Downright Silly *Mich.*

To the Editor: The suggestion by E. G. M., that the United States provide enough territory in Africa for all the Negroes in the world, is downright silly. Does he realize what an involved undertaking that would be? It would mean transporting thousands of Negro-Americans from their native America to the unfamiliar continent of Africa. *6-21-45*

If this stupid thing were done, why would it not also be fair to send Americans of Greek descent to Greece, or those of Italian descent to Italy, and other nationalities to the lands of their ancestors? *Detroit News*
EDWARD HAWKINS.

moral, to protect itself from destruction and mongrelization. . . . There is no principle of democracy that justifies any race in demanding the right to mongrelize another."

Not Ready for Democracy

The trouble with Negroes, said Hall is that "they are not capable of bearing their fair proportion of the burdens of this Republic or any democratic system. . . ."

Neither in the South or elsewhere, he said, do colored people "give evidence of those characteristics which are essential to the successful operation of a democratic state."

Although some "very fine and able characters" have developed among the Negro race, Hall said that this gave hope that "with the help and tolerance of the white

Colonization of the Negro

should not only agree, but help them in every reasonable way—and wish them God Speed. This, I believe is the only satisfactory solution of this difficult situation."

Hall stated that segregation did not violate democratic principles and that "the colored race is as much protected as the white race."

"Such laws are not the result of prejudice because of color but are reasonable police regulations justified by the experience of the ages." Hall said that he thought there should be some "reasonable" educational qualification for the right to vote.

"To go a step farther," he said. "In areas where the number of colored persons largely exceed the number of whites, then one of the races should leave or else, to protect and maintain integrity of the

About Negroes And The Forty Ninth State

The revival of the old idea of the Communists in which a separate state would be set up in the South where most of the Negroes are located as a republic along the Soviet Russia lines has become an issue in the approaching city election in New York. *Atlanta, Ga.*

Ben Davis, Jr., present Negro member of the N. Y. City Council, succeeding the Rev. Adam C. Powell, Jr., is reported by the local press as having reopened the "republic" idea. As a result of this reported suggestion by Davis, one of the few prominent Negro Communists in America, the Democratic organization in N. Y. has withdrawn its endorsement of Davis. It is reported the overwhelming repudiation of the 49th state or "republic" idea by Harlem Negroes is responsible for the action of the

DEMOCRACY ONLY 'FOR THE STRONG'

New Color Line Champion Crowned In Dixie

Chicago Def.
NASHVILLE—A new color line champion was born here this week. Railroad president Fitzgerald Hall scrambled into the ranks with Bilbo and Rankin. *7-24-45*
Because, he declared, every red-blooded white American must join to give Negroes "God Speed" back to Africa.

"Never in history has a different minority race been as well treated as have the Negroes of the South," Hall said here at the Round Table and Coffee House clubs.

Printed and circulated among employees of his Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railroad, Hall's speech, entitled "Democracy" has created a furor among railroad workers. *Chi. Ill.*

"This is a white man's country—it is going to continue to be a white man's country," said Hall. "We hope peacefully, but it is going to stay a white man's country."

Fond of Negroes

"Regardless of what the carpet-baggers and the demagogues may say, the South has been and is the Negro's best friend," the Dixie railroad president contended and said he felt "the real Southerner" was fond of "the real Negro."

But because "the fundamental basis of any democratic system is an intelligent, proud, self-reliant, educated, self-respecting people . . . the colored race . . . cannot so qualify. I say this sorrowfully because I have many real friends among the Negroes—but it is true none the less," Hall lamented.

He said that it was not undemocratic to prevent inter-marriage because "the red squirrel and the gray squirrel live and work and play in the forest together but the color line remains intact. . . . Any given race has the right, legal and

people some day the colored race may have its own free country and its own government.

"The colored people, as a race, seem to have no pride of race," Hall declared. "They are not content to 'go it' alone. They do not want the responsibility for their own welfare."

"They have shown little willingness or capacity to do the work and make the sacrifices essential to operate a democratic system of government. They have, in point of fact . . . been the white man's burden. . . ."

Hit Northerners

Northern Negroes, Hall stated, were no better equipped for democracy than Southerners. "Those who live in Harlem and Chicago and other places outside the South do not seem to have given much more, if any, evidence of their capacity to regulate and support themselves."

"The sad historical fact is that the Negro, as a race, has not yet in America (and apparently not elsewhere) shown the capacity to fulfill the responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy," he continued. "Some foolish people talk about the shortcomings of the white man in dealing with the colored race . . . but few tell the whole truth. The colored race . . . has many shortcomings. . . . They will not as a race, save; they will not practice self denial; few will work hard unless watched. . . . He is not yet ready for democracy."

Therefore, said Hall, "the white majority owes itself the high privilege of treating the colored minority not only with intelligent, but with kindness and sympathy and understanding. . . ."

Gives God Speed

"If our colored friends want their own country and their own government, as a proud, self-reliant race would, I think the white people

white race, it must control—it is the law of self-preservation and entirely consistent with democratic principles. This is not said nor intended unkindly. The white and colored cannot jointly rule. They should separate and each, white and colored, has the right to preserve the integrity of their respective peoples. In fact, it is the duty of each to do so.

Quotes Lincoln

"Admitting some mistakes and some shortcomings by the whites the colored people have enjoyed here in the South a life no racial minority in any other nation has ever enjoyed," he said.

While not a "great admirer" of Abraham Lincoln, Hall said that he was in complete accord with the following quotation which he attributed to the Civil War president:

"I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters of the free Negroes, or jurors, or qualifying them to hold office, or having them to marry with white people."

"I will say, in addition, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which, I suppose, will forever forbid the two races living together upon terms of social and political equality; and inasmuch as they cannot so live, that while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, that I, as much as any other man, am in favor of the superior position being assigned to the white man."

"Democracy," stated Hall, "is a game only for the strong and for the honorable."

democrats. *8-24-45*

Commenting on the Davis idea, the Jackson, (Miss.) Advocate expresses an opinion similar to one we previously expressed and one with which we now fully agree. The Advocate concludes an editorial in its recent issue which reads as follows:

"In other words what the Negroes in New York said in unmistakable terms is that the Negro wants integration into American Life and not separation or being set apart as a kind of a ward. And the Negro everywhere believes that his claim to the right on integration into American life finds adequate basis in the fact that he was here from the very beginning of the nation and his blood, sweat, sacrifice, and tears, both in peace and in war have contributed in no small degree to the up-building and development of the nation."

"Although politically inarticulate Negroes throughout the South are joined with the Negroes of New York's Harlem and everywhere else in rejecting the idea of the forty ninth state, back to Africa movements and all other such fantastic ideas. The Negroes of the South know from experience, that such schemes are the products of the imaginations of a few smart fellows bent only upon self-fattening of one kind or another, and that the few camp followers of such movements are those whom the psychologist refer to as dwelling out on the lunatic fringe."